

The Intervention of G.M. Dimitrov on July 2, 1934, at the Meeting of the Commission on the Second Point of the Congress Agenda

It seems to me that the fundamental political problem that stands before the Communist International - and, therefore, before the 7th Congress - is the problem of the proletarian united front in the struggle against the offensive of fascism, the problem of the struggle for the unity of the working class. In my opinion, as this problem must be the central point of discussion and decision of the 7th Congress of the Communist International, our main attention must be concentrated on its many-sided discussion and correct solution. And therefore the Communist International must boldly undertake in its whole line and in its initiative on every front, the task of creating the necessary unity of the working class against the offensive of fascism, against the danger of war, in the struggle against capitalism.

If on the first point of the agenda the main task will be the analysis of the position, and, on the basis of this concrete analysis of position, the study of the changes which have taken place since the time of the 6th Congress, and the formulation of the general political line of the Comintern, then I consider that the main task for the second point of the Congress agenda must be the tactical line, tactical questions, the tactics of the Communist International and of our Communist Parties, all the more because, as is known (and you agree with this) the weakest aspect of the work of our parties is in the field of tactics; the greatest confusion, in my opinion, also exists in the field of tactical questions.

It seems to me that, in relation to the changing position, especially since the victory of fascism in Germany, and studying our experience since the time of the 6th Congress, we have to review and change certain formulations, tactical lines, and, possibly, certain positions which are not altogether clear.

What is it necessary to change? How and in what direction must we make this change? In my opinion this depends on the concrete study of the actual position and condition of our parties and other organisations, on the concrete study of questions of our tactics and methods of mass work and of the leadership of the Communist Parties in the mass movement, and also on the study and estimate of our experience since the time of the 6th Congress, especially in the last years and still more especially in connection with the victory of fascism in Germany and the influence of this victory of fascism in Germany on other countries.

I think, therefore, that the review of the estimation of our tactics, our line, of our methods of work, must be completed boldly and painlessly on the basis of our experience of the most recent events, and, I would say, not considering ourselves bound hand and foot by existing tactical lines. What must be changed must be changed. What must be corrected must be corrected as quickly as possible. In other words we must, in an all-round way, make use of what is positive and negative in our experience of the last years and of the most recent period.

I have in mind first of all our relation to social democracy, to the reformist trade unions and to other non-communist working class organisations, organisations of the working people. I have in mind here our approach to the social democratic working masses and to the masses of other non-communist organisations. I have in mind still more concretely, our tactics of the united front and the application of these tactics in different countries.

I think that we shall also be agreed that, on the basis of our own experience, we shall see how formalism and stereotyped phrases frequently substitute for Marxist analysis. General formulae and blue-prints are substituted without taking account of the specific character of each country, of each party and organisation. This does us very much harm; it has prevented us in a very large measure from drawing broad masses of the working class and working people into revolutionary struggle under our leadership. Besides everything else, the 7th Congress must say something new in the most authoritative way, plainly and clearly, so that our parties and the working class of all countries can understand what action to take on the problems of the communist movement.

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